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stage on letters must be paid, or they not be attended to.

REMARKS OF MR. CALHOUN. enate of United States, August 27, 42, on the passage of the Tariff Bill.

country, nor one which might come ompetition with one that is, which subject to high protective duties .latter description may be placed silks, worsted-which, though not s manufactured in the country, are t to as high duties as those that are. en to give the home manufacturers on and woollens the exclusive moy, if possible, of the market. To ay be added, that there is not a raw al scarcely, on which manufactures e, or any material which is necessa-he process of manufacturing, which admitted duty free, or subject to a ght one. But this is not all. Most articles for which the exports of c-manufactures are exchanged aare subject to light duties; and the incipal ones (tea and coffee) for they are chiefly exchanged, are ad-duty free. It is that, as he has which makes the main difference ural products of the country, inprovisions of every description, throughout with the greatest art such an event would shortly

of protection, with the ne, in proportion to the rafes proposed, which all of the its authors could combine;

sor, the bill vetoed; for that fell far short, in consequence of the emission of the duty in this on tea and coffee. He hazarded little in saying that, if the duties it im-ERMS.—Three Dollars, invariably in ance. Persons wishing to discontinue I please give notice thereof in writing. To subscription received for a less time a six months. of the manufacturers, unless (what would be worse, and which, he believed, would prove to be the case) it should annihilate that amount and more of the productive industry of the country, to the general impoverishment of the community.

> But our political friends who are about (unfortunately, as he believed) to give this bill their votes, endeavor to console us by telling us it is a mere provisional measure intended to meet present exigencies; and that it will be repealed, or greatly modified, in a short time after we get into pow-They doubtless think so; but will it be the case? Can they, on reflection, seriously believe that the necessity, which they plead in excuse for their votes, will be less then than it is now?

Do they really think that the manufacturers will be better able to bear a reduction of those high duties about to be imposed, as it is alleged, to save them, than they are now to do without them? If they do, they will be wofully mistaken. W and those he represented, that he subject. The effect of high duties is not give his opinion on this bill, and to decrease the necessity of continuing that were alleged for its pas- them, but the reverse-to increase the ne-The hour was late, and the time cessity of raising them still higher. This and he should be as brief as possi- bill itself furnishes some striking evidence of the fact. Among the articles on which would begin by premising that it it imposes the highest rates of duty, is apparent a large portion of the party. that of coarse cottons—raies not less than wer were much embarrassed in de- 100 per cent. on some descriptions; and ing how they should vote on this they are the very articles so highly favor-But, if he might be permitted to ed by the tariff of 1816, under the minihe should say that, if they had mum duty, which the Senator from Kencause for mortification, (as they cer- tucky [Mr. Crittenden] so kindly brought had,) they had still greater for ex- to his recollection in the course of his re-If one of their tavorite mea- marks. We were then told (as we now was lost by its passage; another, are of this bill) that it was a mere protill greater and more important favor- visional measure to protect an infant manould become a law, if appearances ufacture, which, in a few years, -would deceive. For his part, he regard- protect itself by its own intrinsic energy, s bill (now, as he feared, on the eve sage) as a measure more thoroughly ntection, and less for revenue, than th had ev so wen submitted for the in proportion, than what they then didwithout of the Senate. It is the Again; another fivered article, at that without of the duy on tea and against the foreign, a duty of \$30 per ton which recently pass d this body, was laid on the imported; and now, also, great a lapse of time, and ask a duty of \$25 per ton; which is an ad valorem duty into the Senate. What he now pro-was, to show that the burden pro-was more for protection, and less for ue, than any preceding measure, not on the present cost greater than the rate per cent. in 1816—being not less than 100 per cent. He would add another item—that of cotton bagging and bale rope: on which the rate per cent. is much highexamination of this bill will show er, as now proposed by this bill, than unhave now as to this bill-that it was provisional, and that the home market would soon furnish a cheaper and better article. In fact, the whole bill, taken in connexion with the declarations of its advocatesthat the manufactures must go down unless these duties are imposed-forms a volume of evidence that the whole effects of all passed protection, from 1816 to this day, have been but to require still higher. It is, indeed, in the nature of the system, as he had proved when the vetoed bill was before the Senate. that every duty imposed had but the effect of requiring a still higher. The cry ever has been more, more, more ' The more it has been sup-

ported. Those, then, of our political friends who intend to vote for this bill, deceive themselves, in supposing they are imposing a provisional or temporary burden .n this and the vetoed bill. On the It is easy to put on the burden, but it will and, all the articles for which the prove hard to take it off—as we have had ample experience. The exigency under which they, unfortunately, suppose they are compelled to vote for it, will be as exclusively exchanged, are subject great—nay, greater—against repealing or duties: such as wines, silks, woost-reducing the duties it imposes, hereafter, tions, mens, cudery, hardware, as it is now to impose them. Instead of his, and the other products of Eng-d the continent. The bill, in short, live by the bounties it grants, will be being less dependent, the operatives, who live by the bounties it grants, will be it. We opposed the withdrawal from the more numerous, and more dependent; and, treasury of the revenue from the landsif to refuse to impose these duties now try from all burdens would subject them to starvation, as we thes, and to subject the other ex- are told,-to repeal or reduce them here others; and well may our poliafter would more certainly be followed
after would more certainly

ported, the more it required to be sup-

s- tie the question. They say the country

controversy are so directly hostile, that the question can never be settled till one raising revenue for the support of the Government, and can constitutionally and they may, at the same time, be laid for the purpose of taking money from one portion of the community, to give to another. The great struggle between these conflicting principles now is, which shall gain the permanent ascendency. This bill, if it should pass, would, at least for the present, give it to the side of monopoly, and against the side of equal rights; and if that ascendency should become pertrenent-if its passage should settle the question, as its advocates fondly hope, in vain will be our victories at this and the extra session for popular institutions .-The popular party, of which we are members, must go down; and our opponents, with their policy, and the form of govern-ment to which it must necessarily lead, will rise permanently in the ascendant. Justice and equality—justice rigidly en-forced, and equality between citizen, State and State, and one portion of the country and another, are essential elements of our system of government, and of the p system of government, and of the to which we profess to belong; a system of policy can be admitted, shall permanently depart from them, out fatal consequences to both. Air if we may judge from the deularatio the Senator m. Massach setts, Cheste land at the senator of the sena fready, the Senator of Massachusetts, [Mr. Choate,] and other advocages of this measure including them is so great, that this odious, unequal, unjust, oppressive, sure, the protective policy which this bill carries, so far, has amde fearful changes for the worse in a large portion of the population of our country. According to their representations, the operatives engaged in manufactures which have been raged in manufactures which have been acted into existence by the system, deposed as a pend for their bread on the passage of this Sengtor from the passage of this sengtor from the passage of the sengtor from the passage o or resist its encroachments, when whether they shall live or starve depends on the change of two or three votes in this or the other House—and that, too, depending, and all the anxiety felt for the state of the previous conduct and votes in 1834, while the blessings of the system-if it can so humble, in so short a time, the once proud, hardy, and independent yeomanry of New England,—he, for one, would infinitely rather see the portion of the Union where

sure rest their support on different grounds. We saw the danger at the extra session; and raised then, and have continued ever since to raise, our warning voice against it. We opposed the withdrawal from the resisted the creation of the debt; we called on those in power to retrench and economize in time: but all in vain. The and means. It was the last, at the extra session, as it is now the last at this. He stopped not to inquire whether this strange

his lot is cast, impoverished by its exac-

tions, but still retaining its erect and inde-

pendent spirit, than wallowing in all the

wealth it can bestow.

be admitted; but surely, when we to the guestion of remedy, if there difference of opinion, those who are onsible, who have caused the mischief, not those who have warred drainet it, opposed the measures that had a

done, and that specifity, to replenish the on the importance of expunging it from the contrary, been expressly made a sub-treasury and revive public credit; and the statute book; but, as bad as the meatreasury and revive public credit; and that a full share of the responsibility is on or the other shall permanently prevail.
There is (and, in the nature of things, there can be) no compromise between those who hold that the power of levying duties was given only for the purpose of Senator from Virginia, to go back to the would ce far easier to extricate ourselves Senator from Virginia, to go back to the compromise act as it stood in the year 1841, when six-tenths of the duty above honestly be exercised only for that pur- 20 per cent. still remained to come off, pose; and those who hold that, in laying and which would afford a greater revenue duties for the wants of the Government, to the treasury, and protection by duties they may, at the same time, be laid for varying from 20 to 40 per cent. to the manufacturers? The objection, it seems, to it, was, that it proposed to subject tea and coffee to a moderate emount of duty, and that only till the debt was paid.— Without undertaking to deny or affirm whether the objections to taxing those articles are as great as has been alleged, he would venture to say that there were many considerations which make them peculiarly fit subjects of revenue. In the first place, duty imposed on them acted as a bounty to no one. Whatever the people might pay for consuming them, would go exclusively into the treasury, and not into the pockets of monopolists. In the next place, they were objects of general use over the whole country, and by every class, which would make a duty on them fall on all, according to the extent of their Id have the effect of throwing some portion of the burden of supporting the Government on that privileged inter-

arations of tion, it seems that the objection to any

per cent -making the duty on them about equal to 27t per cent., and to leave the duties at or below 20 per cent., as they then stood; which would have yielded more revenue than this bill, and afforded, The portion of our party who have un-fortunately separated from us on this meawith the cash duties, a protection of about 33 per cent on the protected articles.— This, too, failed; and that, on an objec-They plead, in the first place, the condition of the treasury as a justification of their vote. That it is bad; that the demands on it are urgent and great, and its when the ate of duty is high, to such an mands on it are urgent and great, and its means of meeting them small; that the public credit is prostrated; and that the public credit is prostrated; and that the are agent, who has been idly sent abroad to negotiate the loan, has been treated with scorn, was, he apprehended, but too true; and to be lamented that it is true. But who are responsible? He and the party of which he is a member are not. We had no agency in the measures which have led to the present exhausted condition of the treasury. On the contrary, we have done all in our power to resist it. separate classes—one at 25, another at 20, and others below—which experience around seem to favor, as a mode preferable to all others imposing duties. But give to the objection its greatest strength, and how inconsiderable is it, compared to the overwholming objections to this bill.

L(saft, Mr. Calhoun) vated for each of these measures not that I was prepared to adopt them, as they were moved; but because I regarded them as intended for

equal, safe, elastitutional, or consistent sound pri ciples, to relieve the the sacrifice of he others?

prosperity cannot be revived till it is attained. They may be admitted. But will the passage of this bill settle the question, and give repose? The very reverse. It will greafly increase the agitation. The principles involved in the sure is, he was not prepared to say that it from that, than from this. There was no comparison in the extent and the strength of the interests that would be enlisted in favor of this measure, compared with the infavor of distribution; while the whole of our party are united and zealous against that, the feebler measure, but united that the feebler measure, but united the compared with the distribution of the compared with the feebler measure, but united the measure to a select Committee of its from that, than from this. There was no against that, the feebler measure, but unfortunately divided to a considerable ex-tent, it would seem, in reference to this, the stronger. According to his opinion, the repeal of the distribution act by the next Congress, with the whole weight of our party and the Executive Department tion of the measure. against it, was as certain as almost any future event; yet he was ready to make considerable sacrifice for immediate riding like as great as voting for this bill.

No one could more sincerely deplore that, any portion of our political friends should bring themselves to support a measure to which he was so strongly opposed, and which he sincerely believed to be rectly hostile to the principles of the

they would retain the strong repugnance they express to a measure, which they think themselves under circumstances compelled to support, and will rally at an early period, not only in co-operation with the rest of the party, to free the country from its blighting effects, but will take the

As chroniclers of the times, it is perhaps oper that we should give place in our dumns to the subjoined protest of President Tyler. It is more eloquently and ably

perhaps, on no higher consideration than the calculation of political chances?—
That any portion of our population should the anxiety felt for the state of the previous conduct and votes in 1934, while in the Senate of the United States, when as been made, and the judgment proand the last, was moved as a Gen. Jackson sent in his Protest to that hounced against me, by the adoption of the Report upon a distinct and separate [Mr. Sevier,] which proposed to impose a of the Resolutions then passed, declaring duty of 25 per cent, on the foreign cost, the Protest of Gen. Jackson to be a breach with the addition of 10 per cent. for the of the privileges of that House, and that home valuation, on all articles which paid the President has no right to send a formal powers as Chief Magistrate of the Ameraduty, before 30th June last, above 20 Protest to the Senate against any of its proceedings. This of course furnished Mr. Botts with a fair chance to "head" the Captain, and he did so by offering and adopting the very resolutions for which Mr. Tyler had voted in Gen. Jackson's case. And thus as the Globe remarks, was the poisoned chalice which Mr. Tyler had held to the lips of the old hero, compleiely returned to his own. The resolutions of Mr. Rotts were adopted by large majorities, except the one which directed the Protest to

## PROTEST OF THE PRESIDENT.

By the Constitution of the United States, it is provided, that "every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objection, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large upon the journal, and proceed to reconsider

In strict compliance, with the positive obligation thus imposed upon me by the Constitution, not having been able to bring myself to approve a bill which oribring myself to approve a bill which ori-ginated in the House of Representatives. entitled "An act to provide revenue from imposts, and to change and modify existing laws imposing duties on imposts, and for other purposes," I returned the same to the House, with my objections to its becoming a law. These objections, which had entirely satisfied my own mind of the great impolicy, if not the unconstitutionality, of the measure, were presented in the most respectful, and even deferential terms. I would not have been so far for getful of what was due from one depart in the presence of that country, and by ment of the Government to another, as to the solemn judgment of such a tribunal, not only of what charges might have been entitled "An act to provide revenue from

that the language in which my dissent was couched was studionsly guarded and cau-

Such being the character of the official communication in question, I confess I was wholly unprepared for the course own body, for the purpose (as my respect for the House have compelled me to infer) of deliberately weighing the objec-tions urged against the bill by the Executive, with a view to its own judgment upon the question of the final adoption or rejec-Of the temper and feelings in relation

to myself of some of the memhers selected for the performance of this duty, I have nothing to say. That was a matter entirely within the discretion of the House of Representatives. But that Committee, taking a different view of its duty from that which should have supposed had led to on, instead of confining itself t ed itself occasion formally to arraign the motives of the President for otha wrong conclusion; but he did hope that In the absence of all proof, and, as I am bound to declare, against all law or precedent in parliamentary proceedings, and at the same time, in a manner, which it would be difficult to reconcile with the comity, hitherto sacredly observed in the intercourse between independent and co-ordinate departments of the Government, it has assailed my official conduct, without a shadow of a pretext for such assault, and. stopping short of impeachment, has charged me,nevertheless, with offences declared to nary report which the Committee thus

but to enter my solemn protest against the proceeding, as unjust to myself as a person, of rights secured to every citizen by the laws and the Constitution. That Constitution has entrusted to the House of Representatives the sole power of impeachment. Such impeachment is required to be tried before the most august tribunal known to our institutions.

The Senate of the United States composed of the Representatives of the so-vereignty of the States, is converted into a hall of justice, and in order to insure the strictest observance of the rules of evidence and legal procedure, the Chief Justice of the United States, the highest judicial functionary of the land, is required to preside over its deliberations. In the presence of each judiciary the voice of faction is presumed to be silent, and the sentence of guilt or innocence is pro-nounced under the most solemn sanctions of religion, of honor, and of law. To such a tribunal does Constitution authorize the House of Reprosentatives to carry up its accusations against any chief of the Executive Department whom it may be-lieve to be guilty of high crimes and mis-demeanors. Before that tribunal the ac-cused is confronted with his accusers, and may demand the privilege, which the jus-tics of the common law secures to the humblest citizen, of a full, patient, and impartial inquiry into the facts, upon the testimony of witnesses, rigidly examined, and deposing in the face of day. If such a proceeding had been adopted toward me, unjust as I should certainly have reto the hill, I had so far forgotten what was condemned without a hearing. As far as due to the House of Representatives as to such proceedings can accomplish it, I came